Surára
Pakidái

/23 cont./

411 individual archers. The aforementioned men then shot three arrows into the air successively (one with a large lancet-shaped point, one with a small lancet-shaped point, and one with a bone point), and each one hit the leaf, usually even the center of it. This Indian [114] ability to hit targets even with an indirect shot has already been pointed out by Friederici and substantiated in the sources (107).

107. Friederici, 1907, p. 329.

I also observed, however, that not all the men were equally good archers, although from childhood on, of course, they are constantly handling bow and arrow. My servant Mateus and I each carried a shotgun, 20 caliber, with us, and the use of our guns aroused the interest of only a few men. The aforementioned three Surára and the Pakidái, however, as well as several other warriors, after a very short time, knew how to handle them just as well as bow and arrow.

[114] Koch-Grünberg came to similar conclusions on his journeys, for he writes: "This is not to say that every Indian is an accomplished hunter. Among these people, too, talents and inclinations are unevenly distributed..." (108).

108. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 59.

[422] It should be mentioned further that bows and arrows repre-
[796] sent the most valuable private property of every man, and they
[155] also play a large part in all magical and religious practices (cures of the sick, festivals, dances, etc.). Furthermore, the weapons
[437] are favorite trade items and gifts of honor which the Surára and
[431] Pakidái occasionally receive from the Xiriána or give the latter during visits (see pp. 13, 159/160). A young man who wants to
[584] marry a girl must also first make a bow and five different arrows for his future father-in-law. /24/ If a warrior dies, his weapons
● [764] are burned with him, so that he may use them on his journey to the moon and on the moon itself (see p.150).

411 Before the Surára and Pakidái adopted the large reverse flat
173 bow from the Xiriána, I was told, their forefathers were acquainted with only the branch-bow.

/69 cont./

727 are lodged in every village. They are regarded as common prop-
83 erty. Unfortunately, one also sees children used for similar pur-
171 poses. This clearly shows the dualism in the etiquette of the savages, whose moral laws apply only to members of their own tribe. This attitude, which is common to all primitive peoples, cannot, for this reason, alter our judgment concerning the morality of the Karaja in general" (332).

332. Ehrenreich, 1891, p. 28.

844 k) Death and burial customs
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585 As the previous comments have shown, there are neither
764 birth nor marriage ceremonies among the Surára and Pakidái. The social and religious life is therefore dominated all the more by death practices.

• 764 If a human being who has completed the third year of life dies, the relatives are inconsolable. There is lamenting in the loudest tones, and the flood of tears among men, women, and children seems endless. Meanwhile, however, the customary occupations are not neglected. While the woman is fetching water from the river, for example, she weeps incessantly to herself and intermittently shrieks loudly; the same is true for the men at their work in the plantings and even for the children at their play. The other members of the tribe cast only an occasional compassionate glance at the mourners, and with this their interest is exhausted.

Immediately after a death it is the duty of the male relatives and /70/ friends to fell small trees in the forest, out of which they make a cylindrical wooden frame -- praotimá. This consists of 15 to 20 poles 1.60-1.80 meters long, which are tied with lianas a handbreadth apart. The corpse is slid into this, and liana ropes are drawn over the two open ends so that it is protected from the attack of birds, especially vultures.

/70 cont./

●764 Among the Pakidái I was able to be present on the sad occasion of a burial ceremony for the young, vigorous, and happy Hokotómarimá, an unmarried youth whose age was 19 years at [762] most. He had fallen from the top of a pupunha palm (Guilielma speciosa Mart.) (the liana lashing of his climbing apparatus, see p. 121, had evidently not been firm enough) and must have suffered internal injuries. All the efforts to save him, which were carried out uninterruptedly by the chief and his helpers for two days and nights, were unsuccessful.

[302] After the dead Hokotómarimá had been pushed into the wooden frame, five warriors whose bodies were painted all over with urucú carried him out of the maloka, amid loud lamentations. Two men carried the frame, one in front and one in back; now and then they were relieved by their companions. The women of his kin group, in part with children on their hips or by the hand, accompanied him, amid heart-rending, shrill tones of lament and endlessly flowing tears, on this last journey to the edge of the forest. Then the five men went on alone with the deceased. (The chief did not take part; he would do so only if the deceased were a relative.) After a walk of about 20 minutes, they suddenly stopped, set down the frame, and selected a suitable tree, in order to hang it in the crown. When they had found it, in this case a tall imbauba tree (Cecropia palmata Wild.) -- tokorí --, two men climbed up, each with two long lianas (cipó-titica) hanging around their necks. They chose a particularly thick limb, then lowered the lianas, where their companions tied them to the wooden frame, and pulled it up with the dead man lying in it. When the frame was hanging firmly and securely on the branch, they climbed down again.

Immediately thereafter the five men started back to the [551] maloka. On the way, however, the brother of the deceased cut into a tree, the name of which the deceased bore -- hokotómarimá -- matamatazeiro (Eschweilera matamata Hub.), with his tercado (large bush-knife) and in the lower part of the trunk, deep notches which had the following appearance ~~~~~~~~~~~~ and extended around the entire trunk. This was supposed to make the tree die.

/70 cont./

764 [551] If the deceased had borne, say, the name of an animal, it would have been the duty of the brother or a relative to kill such an animal. For, with the dead person, an animal or plant of the same name must also be killed or be made to die (see pp. 138/139).

While the deceased hung in the crown of the imbauba tree, the laments of his relatives in the maloka continued, and even the children did not lag behind their parents in this respect. At night one or two men were always awake, sometimes also a woman, who, at the same time, sang, wept, and intermittently uttered shrill sounds. The sleep of the other members of the tribe, however, was not disturbed by it.

765 Seventeen days after the death of Hokotómarimá the second part of the burial ceremony began. The male relatives cut down more trees, and, under the imbauba tree in whose crown the dead man hung, they raised a funeral pyre; moreover, they cleared the forest at this spot, so that there was a rather large open area. On the afternoon of the eighteenth day all the Pakidái men then painted themselves with urucú and, under the leadership of Chief Karenauõ, singing loudly and weeping at the same time, they went to the place of the dead. All the women and children remaining behind also wept fervently, even the ones who were not related to the deceased. The /71/ men carried bows and arrows in their hands; some of them also carried snuff-powder and the tube for blowing it in. The brother, moreover, had the weapons and tools of the deceased, as well as bowls made out of the jamaru fruit -- horotó.

When the procession reached the imbauba tree, two kinsmen climbed up once more and carefully lowered the wooden frame, which was received by the other warriors and placed on the pyre in such a way that the head of the deceased was turned toward the rising moon. The dead man, however, was only a skeleton. The flesh had decayed and fallen through the slats to the ground where the vultures, ants, and other animals had devoured it. The brother put his weapons and tools on the wooden frame, so that they would be available to Hokotómarimá in the realm of the dead. Several pieces of meat, bananas, some manioc flour, and the full calabash of a palm drink were to serve as food along the way.

Surára
Pakidái

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764 171 For the types of burial of the Surára and Pakidái, which are undoubtedly very old and original, there are no parallels thus far in South America (334). This is true of the combined tree- and

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334. Among the Waikâ /Waica/, the corpse is cremated on the same day on the village square (Zerries, 1955b, p. 664).

fire-burial as well as of the earth burial of old people. A deceased member of the tribe, however, is only hung in a treetop for two or three weeks, so that his flesh will decay, before the bones are subsequently cremated.

765 171 175 The latter custom, albeit in the form of combined earth- and fire-burial, is, moreover, already mentioned in old sources. "Far inland," writes Barrère with regard to Guiana, "there are nations who assemble in order to dig out skeletons, when they think that the corpse is almost decayed, and after they have calcined these, they drink the ashes, which they soak in roucou, and they believe that they have thereby given their dead a more decent burial than if they left them to worms and putrefaction" (335).

335. Barrère, 1751, p. 172.

764 765 171 175 Similar reports are given by Froger about French Guiana (336)

336. "They have great respect for the old people, and when one of them dies, they inter him in the Carbet (Maloka) without any other ceremony than becoming very intoxicated: but when they believe that he is almost decayed, they assemble the Indians of the neighboring Carbets, dig out the bones, burn them, and take the ashes into their Oüicou in order to have a great feast" /translated from the French/ (Froger, 1715, p. 178).

Surára
Pakidái

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and by de la Neuville and Biet about some of the mainland Karaiben /Carib/ (337). The Surára and Pakidái, on the other

337. Lafitau, 1724, II, pp. 444 ff.

hand, are of the opinion that the soul existing in the bones is able to travel up to the moon only if the flesh has decayed beforehand, and there is now nothing to prevent the soul's withdrawal.

The custom of hanging the corpse in the open until it decays is also documented as early as the seventeenth century, but not in connection with another form of burial. There are statements about this by Coreal concerning the Chevelus (Amaguaxe or Encabellados -- members of the Tukano /Tucano/ linguistic family) who lived on both sides of the Putumayo: "They do not bury their dead at all, but hang them in the open until the flesh decays: after that they keep the bones as Relics" /translated from the French/ (338).

338. Coreal, 1722, I, p. 292.

5. War -- nĩanyu --

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The Yanonámi /Yanoama/, as has been mentioned above (see p. 13), are split into two antagonistic camps, the Xiriána /Shiriana/ and the Waiká /Waica/, with their smaller satellite tribes. There is constant, open hostility between these two "power blocs," on the one hand, and toward outside enemies (Karaiben /Carib/ and Aruaken /Arawak/) on the other. They accuse each other of a propensity for thievery and /74/ attribute every sickness and every death to sorcery on the part of members of hostile tribes. Hence blood revenge -- noyú -- plays a very great role. The chief cause of all wars, however, is connected with the fact that they feel it necessary to abduct women and girls of hostile tribes and groups, in order to bring new blood into their own tribal unit. Since many tribes are comparatively small, increasing relationship by marriage already requires exogamy to a certain

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Surára
Pakidái

VIII. Religion and Magic

1. The Religious Conception of the World

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According to the view of the Surára and Pakidái, the earth is a disk over which the sky arches like a bell. All power emanates from the moon -- Perimbó -- and from Poré, the lord of the moon, who is pictured as an old man with a long white beard and a tonsure painted red. Occasionally he comes down to earth, but is then invisible to human beings.

Thus, Poré and Perimbó constitute an inseparable unity that is regarded as eternal, just, and benevolent, but is also able to punish, if necessary. To it is attributed the origin of the earth and all life, and it is assumed that the events of creation followed in direct as well as in indirect fashion (442).

> 442. The creation myth of the Yanomámi /Yanoama/ represents an example of such indirect creations (see pp. 247/248).

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The moon, a large, open, circular maloka located in the midst of a planting and surrounded by forests, mountains, and rivers (443), is at the same time regarded as the place where

> 443. The picture of the surface of the moon corresponds to the open, almost circular Surára maloka (see pp. 25/27).

all the souls of human beings who were cremated after death lead a paradisiac existence under Poré. There are animals, plants, and fruits in abundance here, and no moon-dweller need ever suffer hunger and thirst.

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But only with the smoke rising during the cremation can a soul -- uwexík -- (identical with cloud, smoke), which exists in the bones and never leaves the body during life, reach this paradise. The souls of the dead who are not cremated become shadows -- petamíhi -- that must wander about restlessly.

Surára. Pakidái Waica

/92 cont./ and children, bear names of plants or animals (see pp. 138/139). This results in a symbiosis which at the same time furnishes proof of the alter-ego motif to be found here. If a person who has passed the third year of life dies, an animal or plant of the species whose name he bore must likewise be killed or its death be brought about. This is done so that, for the long journey to the moon, the soul of the deceased has a companion who leads the way and facilitates for it entrance into the paradisiac realm of the dead (see also p. 149).

/93/ If the chiefs, who, of course, are at the same time medicine men, or other male members of the tribe wish to make contact with the nature spirits, either in connection with curing the sick, before or after hunting expeditions, on the occasion of prayers of thanksgiving for a successful harvest, etc., they have another man blow narcotic powder into the nose with a bamboo tube and immediately afterwards fall into a state of intoxication in which they feel themselves to be giants among giants (see p. 193). Thus, it is understandable that in a snuff-powder intoxication they identify themselves with the hekurá and use a very similar sounding word -- rekurá -- for any magical performance.

If one compares the beliefs of the Surára and Pakidái with those of the related Waikâ /Waica/, who were studied by Otto Zerries, Meinhard Schuster, and the American Missionary James Paul Barker (448) (449a) (449b), one finds that they are largely

448. Zerries, 1958a.

449a. Zerries, 1958b.

449b. Barker, 1953.

in accord in their basic features.

All the tribes mentioned believe in a Supreme Being, Poré or "Omaua," respectively, and ascribe to it the creation of the earth and all living creatures. To be sure, there are certain differences, which may, however, be traced back to external influences. Thus, Poré is brought into relationship with the moon --

Surára Pakidai Waica

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793 184 Surára and Pakidái, but here in addition there are also such for the animals themselves, and, to be sure, smaller ones are always transformed into larger ones (see p. 251). The myth of the creation of the ant bear, in which Omaua or Porê transforms a man who has committed incest with his mother-in-law into this animal by magic, is familiar to the Waiká (486), as well as to

486. Zerries, 1958b, p. 285.

the Surára and Pakidái, in the same version (see p. 250).

794 184 Likewise synonymous is the system of the species-spirits of animals and plants, hekurá (Surára and Pakidái), or "hekula" (Waiká) (487), which is closely connected with the medicine-man system.

487. Zerries, 1958b, pp. 286/87.

794 795 184 [X4] Of interest, finally, are comparisons concerning the conception of the human soul. It can ascend to the moon (Surára and Pakidái) or to heaven (Waiká) (488) only if the corpse is

488. Zerries, 1958a, p. 105.

cremated, for its name, uwexík (Surára and Pakidái), or "nobolebe" (Waiká) (488) /see footnote above/, is identical with that of cloud, smoke. According to the view of the Surára and Pakidái, the soul exists in the bones (see p. 151) (489).

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489. In this respect they correspond to many other tribes, for in his essay "Die Antropophagie der südamerikanischen Indianer /The Anthropophagy of the South American Indians/," Koch (Grünberg) writes: "All these practices show that the Indian, incapable of separating the physical from the spiritual, regards the bones, which alone remain after the corpse has decomposed, as the actual and ultimate seat of the soul" (Koch (Grünberg), 1899, p. 83).

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273 271 177 The beverage of the Sanemá is water. They do not make alcoholic beverages. In recent times the Sanemá who live in contact with the Makiritare have learned to prepare cashíri, and they are beginning to drink it with some frequency. Nevertheless, the preparation of alcoholic beverages is not common among the Sanemá and Yanoama in general.

252 263 261 The greater part of their food is toasted or broiled in the coals. They do not eat salt, properly speaking, but they use wood ashes and peppers. They also clean dry clay and eat it.

276 As stimulants they have tobacco and yopo. They do not smoke, but rather roll up the tobacco leaves, and, after treating them with ashes, they put them in back of the lower lip. The yopo is made with certain leaves and ashes of bark. It seems that they have several kinds, according to the degree of strength. They showed us a gray type and a black one. One who wishes to take a dose puts the intoxicating powder in a tube and a companion blows it into his nose. In general, yopo is related to religious ideas. [764] It appears that they take it at burial ceremonies when they accompany a deceased person and his "híkula upwards." The theurgists also use it frequently in their various ceremonies. There are known cases in which a man "flew off" with a strong dose of yopo and, losing his way, never came back to earth!

581 183 591 184 The founding of a family is the fervent desire of all the young people of the tribe. We observed a degree of irregularity in the custom of determining the matrimonial residence. In the Sanemá group of the Erebato, this seems to be bilocal, as among the Waica of the upper Orinoco (Barker, 1953, p. 478), while on the Ventuari we noticed a tendency toward unilocality. We

591 182 596 are not certain, but it would seem that normal residence is initially matrilocal with postmatrimonial betrothal service and then changes to bilocal. This arrangement brings about the formation of bilocal extended families in Yanoama society.

596 591 Societies with bilocal extended families are relatively rare, but their existence among the Sanemá does not surprise us if we bear in mind that the economic situation of the tribe lends

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588 Marriages which oppose the bilateral extension of the law of incest are criticized and are prohibited, and anyone who contravenes this law is automatically placed outside society.

589 793 Unmarried men are few, and, they say, only the priest practices celibacy.

165 The number of persons of advanced age is very small among the Sanemá. Among the Nabudub we saw only one old man.

753 In the majority of cases, sickness has a magical cause and the theurgists attempt to cure those who are within their field of action. We did not penetrate into this intimate sphere of Sanemá culture and the little that we heard is set forth in the section which deals with religious and magical aspects of these Indians.

764 159 We were not present at any funeral among the Sanemá, but our young informant of the upper Erebato told us in great detail about the death of his father.

159 753 825 763 He had gone out to the forest. There he had found an eagle. As eagles are men, they may only be killed if they are enemies of one's pueblo. The father asked the eagle whether he was a Waica or a Sanemá, and, when it answered that it was a Waica, the Sanemá man killed it with his arrow. Naturally he observed all the taboos that are obligatory for a hunter who kills an eagle. A few days later he became sick. He had a very high fever and remembered that when he picked up the eagle he got the impression that it was feverish, and, as birds of prey are often sent by a theurgist of neighboring enemies in order to kill the people, that explained everything. There was no reason to look for any other cause, the diagnosis was clear, the eagle had transmitted its sickness to the hunter. He became worse as the days went by and /220/ finally died; but he had first explained to the members of his family the cause of his sickness and the reason for his certain death.

159 764 Immediately after the death, the whole family burst into tears and began to shout; meanwhile several men went in search of the material necessary for raising the corpse. For this there is needed a quantity of stakes and leaves with which a sort of cylindrical coffin is made, and, after the dead person is placed

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159 inside, it is tied with lianas. Then they take the corpse into
764 the forest where it is deposited, at a distance of some kilometers, on the branches of a tree in order for the flesh to decompose there. Often the members of the family will not leave the corpse alone in the forest for fear that animals will come and
[775] devour it. The dead are very much afraid of animals and shout when a jaguar approaches them.

[825] The feline respects only a dead sablf, because he will die
[756] in turn if he approaches.

Our informant spent several nights next to his father's
[784] corpse, always being very careful not to step on the damp ground beneath the dead man, because those who step there lose their feet.

152 The grief of the relatives is so intense that very often some
764 of them can not endure the pain and go to the forest to die. Above all the women lament a great deal during the night and the men hold them back so that they will not run away to the forest. The informant remembered that the strongest man of his tribe behaved as though he were mad after the death of his father and wanted to kill everybody. The men did not allow him to go with them into the forest to gather up the bones of his father for fear that, given his behavior, he might commit some crime.

765 After one month, more or less, the men of the tribe go to the forest and gather up the bones of their companion; the flesh decomposes completely during this period. Some of the men let down the coffin and others wrap the remains of the deceased in some large leaves, making in this way a bundle of bones which they take back with them to the rancheria. There they place it in a hammock and leave it for about four days, while the relatives continue to weep in uninterrupted lamentation.

765 Later the sablf carries the bones to a fire prepared in the
775 plaza and places them on top of the pile of firewood. Our
[756] informant also said that as the sablf did this he pronounced a well-known formula which means: "you are getting along well," for, if he did not say this, the hikula would not be able to find its way. Afterwards he lights the fire, blows upon it at the same time as he raises his arms /221/ above his head, and in the smoke

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773 774 The Sanemá became discouraged in the face of the ferociousness of the monster and feared the day on which Chinanſdmawan would again mistreat and kill them.

773 774 756 In those days there lived among the Sanemá a great sablſ, very famous and extremely powerful, who began to think of how he could free them from this demon. The great sablſ went off to the forest, and there he found a liana which seemed very suitable for his purposes. He cut a piece of the bejuco and returned. During the night he went to the house of Chinanſdmawan in order to surprise him while he was asleep surrounded by his horrible trophies. In fact he did find him in a deep sleep; the sablſ then introduced a piece of the liana up his anus. The demon woke up startled. He realized that a powerful sablſ had found the means of killing him. In fact, shortly thereafter Chinanſdmawan died, and the Sanemá exposed his corpse to the sun so that the flesh might rot. But because the demon had such tough skin, the flesh dried up and the skin remained intact; they then tried to burn it, but this was impossible, so they flung it into the forest and fled from the place.

773 774 The skin of Chinanſdmawan, abandoned in the forest, gained access into the plants, animals, and men. That is why all male human beings, the animals, and the plants have within their bodies a hard and indestructible Chinanſdmawan which is called hſkula,

774 [764] The hſkula is that part of the male which remains on earth after his death. When the body of a person is burned, his hſkula, on seeing the black cloud which rises from the fire, joins all the other hſkulas and they remain there for a long time... listening and listening to what comes from the world where men live.

[826] The size of the hſkula of a man corresponds to the measure of his torso, and the larger the hſkula is, the stronger is the person.

[764] [276] [793] During the funeral rites, the men, under the influence of yopo, sing about their gigantic hſkula, and, in order to prove their gigantic strength, /228/ they invite each other to the wasamú, and they squeeze each other powerfully with their arms or with sticks. Among the men, only the priest, hɛwĩawan, has no hſkula, because he is already a citizen of heaven.

/483 cont./

758 515 They bathe sick persons. If the patient cannot go to the stream, they bathe him part by part at home and even in his own hammock.

/484/ Death

763 They are generally afraid of death and make every effort to keep a dying person alive for a while longer. When someone is in danger of dying, the relatives and friends hold meetings for lamentations at least once a day.

764 [302] [535] When a dying person expires, a time of mourning begins. Then, at about 3:00 in the afternoon, the funeral begins. The relatives and friends begin to paint themselves. There is much crying and lamentation. The women dance forward and backward, groaning and carrying several poisoned darts in one hand. If there are young children, they are frequently carried also. If the deceased is a little one, its little body may be carried during the final part of this mourning dance. A few closely related men and the intimate friends also participate in the dance.

After the lamentations have continued for a quarter of an hour more or less, the men go out in search of firewood and light a fire of two meters in front of the dwelling where the corpse is lying. When the fire reaches an adequate size, the body is carried there in a hammock made of cords of vine and placed on the fire. Then they put more wood on top of the [766] corpse. If the deceased is an infant, they place it in the fire in a flat basket rather than a hammock. They keep the fire burning [765] until around ten at night. Then they gather up the bones, wrap them in leaves, and hang them in the house.

If someone should die far from the settlement, his body is wrapped in leaves tied with vines and carried to the settlement to be cremated.

765 About three days after the cremation, the bones are pulverized in a small trough and then kept hermetically in a gourd capped with beeswax. The trough is made by using a machete to carve out the hole, burning its interior. They use it only once. After it is used, both the trough and the pestle are burned. Much weeping accompanies the process of pulverization and sealing the remains in the gourd.

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721 At this moment Dave London and I were taking a /155/ bath in a stream about 100 meters from the aldea. We heard a lot of shouting and crying. A few minutes later a couple of men from Majecototjeti came toward us, saying, "Come look, raiders," while they pointed toward the aldea. These men did not go on, carrying only a bunch of plantains and their weapons.

We dressed rapidly and went to the aldea. Most of the [752] men had gone off in pursuit of the raiders. The women were pour- [755] ing water on the wound, while the sorcerer sang over it. Soon all of the reserve water of the aldea was used up. They asked us if we could help them. We called Ed Killiam, who brought his snakebite kit and sucked out the wound with it, until we did not dare do any more for fear of his losing too much blood, since he was bleeding freely. We also prayed.

The boy almost stopped breathing, but after an hour and a half he began to come around. Soon after this he got up and went to his house; the paralyzing effect of the curare on the 726 lungs had passed. The pursuit of the raiders continued all night and across the uppermost part of the Manaviche River. In some way the chief and "Yelequei-jûu" managed to pass some of the raiders. Two boys came back, hungry and looking for wild fruits. They found some wild cacao and stopped to eat it. At this moment the chief wounded "Dujuue" in the abdomen with a wide arrow-point of bamboo. His companion wounded the other young man in the arm.

726 (If you asked a Yanomama what he would do if he were 763 wounded and knew that he was going to die, he would strike a 183 pose which is supposed to represent bravery, and he would also state the brave words which he would say.)

But "Dujuue" did not do this. Knowing that he was going to die, he sat down, calling for his mother. The Shibaatfa-tejeti later recovered his decomposed body and took it to the aldea to [764] burn it. The other wounded young man recovered. The Majecototjeti told them that both had died, until /156/ visitors from Boletjaotjeti came and told them that the other young man had recovered.

/164 cont./

729 new place located several hundred meters away. The matadores
783 went into the thicker underbrush and the other people remained some distance away. They could not touch anything that they
[413] were to eat, but rather had to reach for it with a stick. They had a special stick with which they scratched themselves. (Later their hammocks were hung in a certain type of tree, tied to the
[352] trunk, and made secure at the spot with vines. When the old hammocks were discarded, they lay down in new hammocks of vines especially made for this purpose and painted and adorned with feathers.) We remained in this camp for about three days, until the matadores thought the ciclo /cycle, term/ completed.

726 Later I learned the details of how the raid took place. The first aldea into which they penetrated was empty, and so was the second, and apparently the same was true at the site of the principal aldea. To obtain at least some revenge, the Bisheasetjeti began to knock down all of the crops which they found on that farm. The others joined in the destruction. All of the plantains were cut down and all of the root crops were pulled up, so that it would be at least a year before the farm would again produce so much food. Nevertheless, the other farm was not destroyed. /Illustration appears here./

/165/ But even then the chief was not satisfied. "The revenge for spilt blood must be with spilt blood." Thus the raiders advanced and found recent tracks, at last. The Liacoatjeti were camping out in the forest. They found a man alone and killed him. At this the chief gave the order to return home.

The Liacoatjeti pursued the raiders and finally found them camping on the bank of the southwest side of the Mavaca River. The Liacoatjeti attacked and killed one man. They were said to have lost two men in this.

[764] The extra week that they were gone was required for them to go some distance and burn the body of the dead warrior. It was too far to carry him and burn him at home.

166 Since they had fallen out with the Liacoatjeti, the
361 Majecototjeti had abandoned their farm south of the Orinoco and made a new one, this time farther down the river and on the north side.

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
Waica

133 But ibis in immense droves refused to be disturbed as they
123 covered each new sandbank that was born.
[136] The water was as clear as if it had been filtered, its reflection of the sun blinding. Dark patches of smooth water amid the rippled surface elsewhere betrayed the next sandbanks to uncover.

We left behind the Padamo, Ocamo and the Mavaca, and all the time the river got narrower. We passed the nights on great flat platforms of rock which got larger as the water went down; with machetes we killed fish trapped in the rocky pools left by the receding stream. A dish of ananas and fish, half-soup, half-stew, is very tasty. It is called *sancoco* and from now on became our staple diet.

123 From Esmeralda we had brought supplies of sugar, coffee, salt, some oil and four big baskets of *manioc* from which we
[136] made coarse bread at all hours of the day. Several times we saw fresh water turtles clinging to the rocks and once or twice succeeded in catching one. But they are wily creatures and usually they dived before we could get near them. One we caught was handicapped by an injured foot which the men asserted was the work of a caribe. Unfortunately, it was too early for the females to be laying their eggs in the sand—they would have been manna, indeed.

123 We arrived at Platanal on November 21st to find that the
721 bridge had been cut down and learned that this had been deliberately done "for strategic reasons". The Indians greeted us like old friends and unhesitatingly took us to the village. There we found feverish activity on all sides. A boy had been kidnapped from the plantation and another killed
[764] by an arrow through the chest. The corpse had been cremated amid ritual weeping and the ashes stored by the family in an urn sealed by wax. Not until the death had been avenged could they be mixed with the dust of the lad's ancestors.

[712] The men had strengthened and consolidated the fortified enclosure and cut down the screen of trees round the village. Sentries had been posted and the entry through the fortification had been concealed by palm-leaves. Women were

segments or fibres from the seje palm leaf are worn through the ear lobes. Small sticks are inserted in the lip and nasal peforations, but, as the women get older, these are discarded. Older women wear only single strings around the wrists, ankles, knees, and upper torso, or, like the children, nothing at all.

Other than the social feasts held during the dry season, ceremonies are limited to female puberty rites, purification rites for men who have killed other men in raids, a vision-quest rite to induct shamans, and mortuary feasts during which the pulverized bones of the dead are consumed in a soup made from boiled ripe plantains.

The puberty rite for females and the purification rite for killers are almost identical. The initiate is confined to quarters that are covered over with a specific kind of palm leaf, the cotton garments and cotton possessions belonging to the initiate are discarded and replaced with new ones, special sticks are used to scratch the body and to pick up food, and straws are used to drink water. The shedding of blood, of considerable mythological importance to the Yanomamö in validating their ferocity and warfare, is ceremonially expressed in two of five rites.

The induction of shamans involves drug-taking, fasting and meditation. The candidate is forbidden to walk anywhere except on a set number of paths in and around the village, and he is distinguished in the village by a staff to

*628 721 578 would have been a display of weakness. They decided to challenge the Bisaasi-tedi to a club fight and settle their grievances by that means. Ten days after Kakoma was taken from Karidimõ, the Monou-tedi men arrived at Bisaasi-tedi and settled the dispute in a club fight. The Monou-tedi were thoroughly trounced by the larger number of Bisaasi-tedi, but they nevertheless demonstrated their potential and willingness to fight, thereby warning the Bisaasi-tedi that they better not attempt to seize more women in the future.

The Bisaasi-tedi clearly had taken advantage of the Monou-tedi numerical weakness and political needs to advance their own ends.

726 In the first week of March 1965 the Patanowã-tedi raided the Monou-tedi. They found the village site on the Mavaca River deserted, so they crossed the river and followed the trail taken by the Monou-tedi to their new garden. They [822] caught the Monou-tedi headman outside the new garden and killed him.

*628 928 This attack brought about an immediate rapprochement between the Bisaasi-tedi and the Monou-tedi. Even Kaobãwã, leader of one of Bisaasi-tedi's main factions, was furious over this killing. Up to this point he was still interested in making peace with the Patanowã-tedi, but this even temporarily changed his mind. Kaobãwã ultimately led the revenge raid against the Patanowã-tedi.

726 [824] The Monou-tedi burned the corpse of the slain headman and sent small gourds of his ground bones to members of allied

villages (Bisaasi-tedi, Mǫ̈maribǫ̈wei-tedi, and Karohi-tedi). These ashes were to be consumed prior to revenge raids on the Patanowɨ-tedi. The Monou-tedi then set about transporting plantain cuttings to their new garden and spent the next several weeks working on the garden. They intended to delay their revenge raid until the beginning of the rainy season in order to make it difficult for the Patanowɨ-tedi to raid them in return. The Monou-tedi moved into Bisaasi-tedi at the end of March both for military protection and for respite from their heavy agricultural labors. They stayed with the Bisaasi-tedi until the end of April, fearing that they would be raided by the Patanowɨ-tedi if they returned to their own village before the rains started. They also planned to raid the Patanowɨ-tedi from Bisaasi-tedi at the beginning of the wet season, knowing that a revenge raid from Patanowɨ-tedi would be difficult once the rains started. They could return to their own village during the rainy season, as the jungle separating their village from the Patanowɨ-tedi is inundated at this time of the year and cannot be traversed.

On April 19th the Bisaasi-tedi sponsored a mortuary feast for the slain Monou-tedi headman in preparation for the revenge raid. The participants in the revenge raid were to include the Mǫ̈maribǫ̈wei-tedi, but they did not arrive as scheduled, so the raid was delayed until the 21st. Only a few Mǫ̈maribǫ̈wei-tedi arrived to participate in the raid, and the Bisaasi-tedi immediately suspected that the Mǫ̈maribǫ̈wei-tedi were plotting to abduct women from them after

774 I, in effect, was capturing the *nowãhi* of the child: A photograph was called *nowãhi*.[13]
825 Tape recordings, in contrast, were not considered to be harmful. If anything, they enjoyed
170 having me record their music and discussions, and always demanded that I play them
123 back for everyone to hear. The word used to describe a recording was *no wãwãhi*, the part
126 of the soul that wanders in the jungle after the body is cremated. In short, only the *nowãhi* aspect of the soul is vulnerable.

766 TREATMENT OF THE DEAD If a person dies in an epidemic, his body, along with those of the others who died, is placed on a tree platform and allowed to decay. After [887] several months, an old man is appointed to strip the remaining decayed flesh from the bones and the bones are then cremated. The Yąnomamö fear the smoke that is produced [553] when a body is cremated, and since epidemics are feared, they do not take a chance on [783] contaminating the houses, implements, and persons with the smoke produced by the burning bodies.

764 Under normal circumstances, the body of the deceased is placed on a pyre of logs, covered with additional wood, and allowed to burn until nothing but the large bones [783] are left. The burning takes place in the village, usually in the afternoon. The children and [562] women leave, as they are susceptible to contamination by the smoke. They all bathe [858] carefully to wash off any possible contamination. Even the weapons are washed.

After the coals are cool enough to handle, the relatives sift the ashes meticulously with shallow, loosely woven baskets, collecting every bit of bone they can find. The charcoal of the wood is burned, lest a small piece of bone be mixed in with it. The accumulated bones are then ground in a log mortar, hollowed out by means of alternate burning and chopping. These logs are about 4 feet long and 6 to 8 inches in diameter. [237] For grinding the bones of a male, white buzzard down is usually attached around the [531] circumference of the mortar, and curved lines painted on the mortar with red pigment. [562] The mortars used for females are not decorated as elaborately, but usually have decorative fibers of a palm tree, the kind used by women to decorate their perforated ears. Circles and dots are painted on the mortars of females.

The charred bones of the dead are placed, a few at a time, into the mortar and a [531] long, slender pole is used as the pestle. These poles are about 6 feet long, 2 or 3 inches in diameter, and bear painted decorations. The bones are crushed into a black powder by a young man, while the relatives of the deceased sit around the mortar and weep profusely. The ground ashes are then transferred to hollow gourds through a small hole and [266] sealed with wax and buzzard down. A little is left in the mortar and eaten, mixed with boiled plantain soup, on the day of the ceremony. The mortar is always burned after a ceremony.

769 About a year later, the rest of the ashes are eaten during a feast, again mixed with
266 boiled plantain soup. Occasionally, they will deliberately save some of the ashes, especially ashes of those who were killed in raids, making use of them for a number of cere- [726] monies. Before each attempt at getting revenge, the raiders eat the ashes of their slain kinsman. This puts them into the appropriate state of rage for the business of killing enemies.

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[13] Many informants gave a more pragmatic explanation of their fear of the camera. They did not want to be reminded of their dead kinsman, and if I had a photograph of that person, this would be an extremely offensive reminder to his relatives that their loved one was dead.

Damowä's brothers—who also participated in this raid—was married to one of the victim's daughters.

The Monou-teri had anticipated their raid by clearing a new garden site across the Mavaca River, where they hoped to take refuge after the inevitable revenge raids from Patanowä-teri began. They had hoped to complete their garden before the raids became intense, as the Mavaca River would have provided a natural obstacle to raiders. The Patanowä-teri, however, were infuriated by this killing and raided the Monou-teri immediately. Two of the raiders were Damowä's "brothers."

The raiders caught Damowä outside the new garden searching for honey. This was in the first week of February. He had two of his wives with him and one child. He was looking up a tree when the raiders shot a volley of arrows into his body, at least five of which struck him in the abdomen. He managed to nock one of his own arrows and shoot at the raiders; although he was probably mortally wounded at the time. Then Bishewä, one of the raiders, shot a final arrow at Damowä, piercing his neck below his ear. He fell to the ground and died after being struck by this arrow.

The raiders did not attempt to abduct the women, as they were close to the Monou-teri campsite and they had to cross the Mavaca River to escape. The women ran back to the village to tell the others what happened. Instead of giving chase, as they ought to have done—according to Kaobawä and the others in Bisaasi-teri—the Monou-teri themselves fled into the jungle and hid until darkness, afraid that the raiders might return.

The man who fired the fatal arrow into Damowä's neck was a son of the man the Monou-teri shot in their raid. Two of the men who shot Damowä were his classificatory brothers (members of the same lineage), three were brothers-in-law (including the man who shot the fatal arrow), and one was a man who had been adopted into the Patanowä-teri village as a child, after he and his mother were abducted from a distant Shamatari village.

The Monou-teri burned the corpse of Damowä the next day. They held a mortuary ceremony that week and invited their allies, members of the two Shamatari villages and the two groups of Bisaasi-teri, to participate. Gourds of the dead man's ashes were given to specific men in several of the allied villages, an act calculated to reaffirm solidarity and friendship. Damowä's widows were given to his two eldest surviving brothers.

Kaobawä, a classificatory brother to Damowä, assumed the responsibility of organizing a revenge raid. Damowä's own brothers failed to step forward to assume this responsibility, and for a while there was no leadership whatsoever in Monou-teri. Finally, Orusiwä, the oldest and most competent member of the *Hor* lineage, emerged as the *de facto* village leader, a position he acquired largely by default. He was related to the slain headman as brother-in-law, and their respective descent groups dominated village politics.[2] Hence, leadership in Monou-teri shifted from the *Shu* lineage to the *Hor* lineage.

Kaobawä delayed the revenge raid until April, giving the Monou-teri time to expand their new garden. This date also coincided with the beginning of the rains, thus reducing the possibility of a retaliation until the next dry season and providing the Monou-teri even more time to expand their new garden and abandon the old one.

The Monou-teri were afraid to return to their producing garden, so they divided their time between their newly cleared site, where they worked at cutting timber and

[2]See Table 3-1 and Fig. 3-3 of Chapter 3 for the lineage composition of Monou-teri.